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Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches

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PROBLEMS pertaining to the function and iconography of subsidiary chapels in Byzantine churches, often referred to by their Greek generic name *parekklesia*, were addressed in a recent study.¹ Architectural aspects of these chapels, however, were not dealt with, and thus continue to be a largely ignored subject in scholarly literature.² This study will examine the architectural significance of subsidiary chapels in church architecture of the Middle Byzantine period and suggest possible effects which they may have had on the development of Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture in general.

Middle Byzantine church architecture, compared to that of preceding epochs, is characterized by a substantial reduction in scale and by a variety of church plans.³ The standardization of certain elements of plan,⁴ as well as a new sense of compositional order, both in plan and in the external massing of the structure, constitute additional hall-

marks. Subsidiary chapels are crucial, integral components of this new architecture. In this respect they differ from their pre-Iconoclastic predecessors, assuming a vital role in the formal and structural modulation of churches.

During the fourth and fifth centuries, subsidiary chapels occur mostly as inorganic appendages of larger churches and vary widely in form and function. Whether planned and built at the same time as the main church or added subsequently, these early subsidiary chapels seldom harmonize visually or in plan with the principal structure. Only during the second half of the fifth century do we find churches with subsidiary chapels consciously designed to complement the architectural character of the primary building.⁵ Such examples, however, remain relatively rare even during the

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1. Gordana Babić, *Les Chapelles annexes des églises byzantines. Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris, 1969).

2. For some preliminary comments see my review of Babić, *Les Chapelles annexes*, *Art Bulletin*, LV (1973), 448–451, esp. the “Postscript.” The subject is touched on briefly by G. Bandmann, “Über Pastophorien und verwandte Nebenräume im mittelalterlichen Kirchenbau,” in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Hans Kauffmann* (Berlin, 1956), pp. 19–58, who concentrates almost exclusively on western developments.

3. On the definition and character of Middle Byzantine architecture see Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 1st paperback edition (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1975), pp. 349f.; also Cyril Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), pp. 194f.

4. Middle Byzantine church architecture is characterized by symmetrically arranged church plans. Tripartite organization of the sanctuary area, for example, though long present, conformed conveniently to such practice. For the distinction between Early and Middle Byzantine planning in Constantinople and for the importance of local liturgical customs see Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople. Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Pa., 1971), pp. 105–115. Regarding literary sources pertinent to the function of pastophoria see Babić, *Les Chapelles annexes*, pp. 61–65.

5. A fine, though unusual, example of a church with subsidiary chapels designed to relate to the form of the church itself may be seen in the church of the Theotokos on Mount Garizim, dated 484. Here four elongated apsed chapels occur along the four diagonal flanks of the octagonal main church. Combined with the three intervening porches, these chapels form a type of envelope around the periphery of the building; see Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 166 and fig. 118. A related, though somewhat different arrangement may be seen in the church of the Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs at Gerasa, dated 464–465, where four rectilinear compartments fill the corner areas between the arms of the cross, and complete the rectangular perimeter of the building. The exact function of these chambers could not be determined by the excavators, but they could well have been subsidiary chapels; see J. W. Crowfoot, “The Christian Churches,” in *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis*, ed. C. H. Kraeling (New Haven, Conn., 1938), pp. 256–260, esp. p. 260. A hypothetical reconstruction of this church calls for four wooden domes over the four corner compartments, but there is no archaeological information to substantiate this proposal; see E. Baldwin Smith, *The Dome. A Study in the History of Ideas* (Princeton, N.J., 1950), pp. 112, 153–154, and fig. 175. The small church of St. David in Thessaloniki, dating from the last third of the fifth century, also belongs in this group. In this case, four square compartments occupy the locations between the arms of a Greek cross, thus completing the square outer perimeter of the church. Although these chambers were originally covered by pendentive domes, it is impossible to say what their primary function was. For a brief discussion of this church see Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 253. The three monuments listed above do not comprise an exhaustive list of fifth-century monuments in which subsidiary chapels were formally related to the principal church, but rather, a sampling of how such relationships were achieved.

great age of building under Justinian, though by that time certain planning practices seem well established.⁶

Comparatively few churches survive from the lengthy period between Justinian's reign and the end of Iconoclasm. The scarcity of monuments makes it difficult, if not impossible, to discern any developments in a general sense.⁷ The architecture remains conservative and, judging by surviving monuments, largely continues to utilize concepts and methods of construction developed during Justinian's building boom. Standardization of various aspects of plan likewise continues. This is particularly true of the tripartite sanctuary, which became a hallmark of Byzantine church architecture by the end of the Iconoclastic period. Virtually no archaeological information about subsidiary chapels is available, though the relatively small number of surviving monuments precludes any judgments regarding the popularity of subsidiary chapels relative to the preceding centuries. Only in seventh-century Armenia and Georgia can we document the proliferation of lateral chapels. By and large, these are carefully integrated with the architecture of

larger churches to which they relate, following earlier established practice.⁸

Middle Byzantine subsidiary chapels are clearly distinct from those of preceding epochs. Their number increases, while their architecture conforms to the design of the principal church in ways for which there appear to be no direct precedents. Often subsidiary chapels are paired, enabling builders to work out symmetrical schemes. Given our present knowledge of Middle Byzantine architecture, it seems both possible and necessary to examine some of the architectural implications of this phenomenon. Obviously, older trends do not abruptly disappear. Asymmetrically and inorganically disposed chapels continue to be built, although these represent exceptions rather than the rule.⁹ Moreover, subsidiary chapels are not always planned and built together with the principal church.¹⁰ What does distinguish Middle Byzantine chapels from their older relatives is that, whether planned and built integrally with the main church or added subsequently, they usually complement the architecture of the building core to which they are attached. This

6. Symmetrical pairs of chapels flanking church bemas begin to appear with some regularity in the age of Justinian. Without entering the controversy whether or not these represent the first pastophories, the most important monuments should be listed: the Cathedral of Caričin Grad (527–565), the tetraconch at R'safah (before 553) in which the northern chapel has been identified as the baptistery, the "Elenskata bazilika" at Pirdop (as remodelled during the last third of the sixth century), and, apparently, the church of S. Giovanni in Porta Latina in Rome (as built originally in the sixth century). Similar to this group, but without direct access from lateral chapels into bema, are the following churches: the cathedral of Bosra (512), Basilica B at Philippi (ca. 540), the church of the Virgin in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai (548–565), and the church of Tolmeita (Ptolemais) (sixth century). All are discussed by Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, who also cites literature on the individual monuments. An extensive discussion of S. Giovanni in Porta Latina in the context of the possible sixth-century evolution of the tripartite sanctuary may be found in Walter N. Schumacher, "Byzantinisches in Rom," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, LXVIII (1973), 104–124. F. W. Deichmann, rev. of R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, LXV (1972), 119, identifies the two small rectangular chambers with absidioles flanking the bema of San Vitale in Ravenna as pastophories, and at the same time postulates that the two adjacent circular chambers with rectangular apses were intended as mausolea. The possibility of a sixth-century evolution of pastophories is rejected by Mathews, *Early Churches*, p. 162, who also cites the earlier literature on the subject. Finally, we must mention the appearance of symmetrically disposed gallery chapels, which also begin to appear in Justinianic architecture. A pair of such chapels, accessible by special staircases, occurs above the chambers flanking the bema of the tetraconch at R'safah (before 553); Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 274–277. A similar pair occurs at the ends of the galleries of the "Elenskata bazilika" at Pirdop, as a result of a remodelling carried out on the church during the last third of the sixth century; Krsto Miatev, *Arkhitektura v srednovekovna B'lgariia* (Sofia, 1965), p. 17, figs. 9 and 10.

7. General considerations of the problems involved are given by Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 297–315, and Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 161–193.

8. The most impressive and the best-known example is the church of St. Hripsime at Vagharshapat, dated 618; see Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, figs. 200 and 201. The plan of the church is a tetraconch, somewhat elongated along the east-west axis. Four square chapels occupy corner positions between the projecting apses of the tetraconch in such a manner as to give the building as a whole a rectilinear outline. The concept is carried through in the three-dimensional articulation of the church which reveals a total integration of chapels into the basic building form. Another unusual example may be seen in the church at Bana, Turkey, possibly built as a cathedral, and probably dating from the second half of the seventh century, when this part of Georgia was a part of the Armenian territory; see W. Eugene Kleinbauer, "Zvart'nots and the Origins of Christian Architecture in Armenia," *Art Bulletin*, LIV (1972), 251–253, fig. 8. In this case four identical apsed chapels occupy corners between the arms of a Greek-cross tetraconch naos. The naos with the four subsidiary chapels is contained within a circular wall, and circumvented by a continuous outer circular ambulatory. Again, as in the case of St. Hripsime, the subsidiary chapels are completely integrated into the total tectonic form of the building. In addition to these two striking examples, one could list a host of other sixth- and seventh-century churches in Armenia and Georgia featuring pairs of subsidiary chapels carefully integrated with the architecture of principal churches. A convenient handbook for the Armenian material is *Architettura Medievale Armena* (exh. cat., Rome, 1968), pp. 82–101. For the Georgian examples see Iu. S. Īaralov et al., *Arkhitectura vostochnoi Evropy srednie veka*, Vseobschchaia istoriia arkhitektury, III (Leningrad and Moscow, 1966), 311–319. Integral planning of subsidiary chapels and principal church has precedents in earlier Armenian architecture; see *Architettura Medievale Armena*, p. 78.

9. Such as, for example, the octagonal chapels of uncertain function occurring along the southern and northern flanks of the ninth-century church at Dereag'zi; see James Morganstern, "The Church at Dereag'zi: A Preliminary Report," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXII (1968), 217–225, fig. A.

10. With regard to the relative chronology of subsidiary chapels in relationship to the principal church, we must distinguish, in addition to the two obvious categories (chapels built simultaneously and chapels added later), two other possibilities: 1. chapels planned contiguously but built subsequently, and 2. chapels not planned contiguously but integrated during the course of construction.

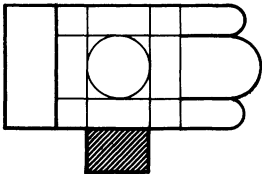
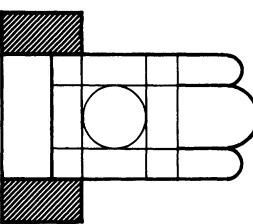
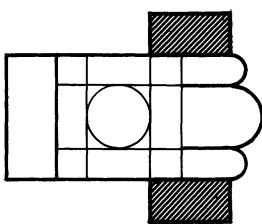
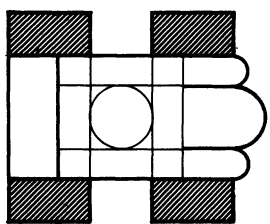
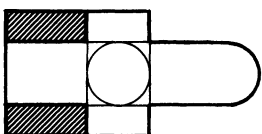
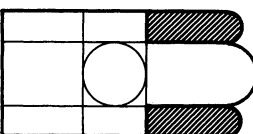
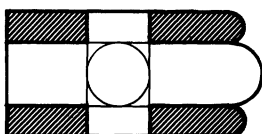
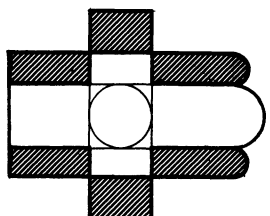
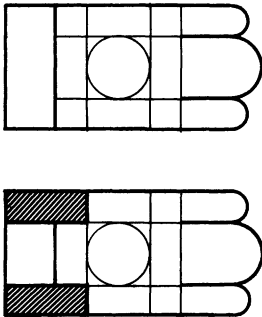
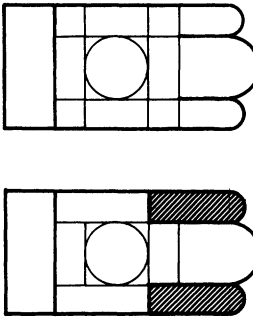
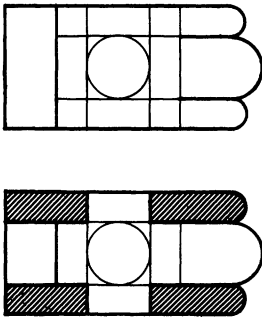
I	SATELLITE ARRANGEMENT			
	 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>	 <p>C</p>	 <p>D</p>
II	COMPACT ARRANGEMENT			
	 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>	 <p>C</p>	 <p>D</p>
III	GALLERY ARRANGEMENT			
	 <p>A</p>	 <p>B</p>	 <p>C</p>	

Fig. 1. Table showing principal types of arrangements of Middle Byzantine subsidiary chapels (author). Note: All plans are diagrammatic; chapels are indicated by diagonal hatching, as on all other plans in this article.

analysis is exclusively concerned with those examples where subsidiary chapels were planned and built integrally with the rest of the building. These examples reveal to greatest advantage the planning involved and the degree to which the builder was able to combine subsidiary components with new architectural forms. This significant situation—design integration, as opposed to design agglomeration—appears to be one of the fundamental distinctions of Middle Byzantine architectural practice.

* * *

Among numerous Middle Byzantine churches with subsidiary chapels, three basic types can be distinguished: satellite arrangement, compact arrangement, and gallery arrangement (Fig. 1). Satellite arrangement identifies ground-level chapels occurring singly or in pairs, whose physical presence is easily observed within the building complex. Such chapels

are usually attached to the main church on one side, while the other three stand free, making the individual chapel semi-independent of the principal building. Despite such apparent independence, these satellites as a rule reveal deliberate efforts to integrate their architecture with the rest of the structure. More explicit in this regard are the chapels of the compact arrangement. Situated on the ground level and usually arranged in pairs, their plans complement the plan of the naos; their architecture, however, is not readily distinguishable from the building mass, with which they are fused. The gallery arrangement type includes those subsidiary chapels, usually occurring in pairs, that flank the church on an upper level. Although the term *gallery* is used to define this arrangement, many of these churches do not have galleries in the strict sense of the word. By and large, these chapels are integrated with the main church as are the chapels of the compact arrangement.

The analysis here is based on a select number of examples, demonstrating the potential architectural role of subsidiary chapels within each category. The list of monuments makes no effort to be exhaustive. Monuments were selected on the basis of clarity, without attempts at organizing them into any regional or chronological groupings. Further studies may find it possible to detect more specific developments. The primary aim here is to establish the importance of this general Middle Byzantine architectural phenomenon.

Satellite Arrangement

Within this category, three distinct variants can be identified: 1. single satellite, 2. twin satellite, and 3. quadruple satellite, each distinguished by the number of subsidiary chapels involved. The first group is the simplest, though relatively uncommon. It features a single chapel along one side of the church, producing an asymmetrical disposition of plan (Fig. 1, 1-A). The best extant example is the church of Bogorodica (Virgin) Eleousa in the village of Veljusa in Yugoslav Macedonia, dated 1080.¹¹ A small domed chapel dedicated to the Holy Savior (Sv. Spas) is attached to the south arm of the quatrefoil plan of the main church (Fig. 2). In this simplified version of the quatrefoil plan, north and south absidioles are deleted for practical reasons—they contain passages to the church and to the exterior. The placement of the chapel coincides with the north-south axis of the church quatrefoil. Despite the pronounced asymmetry in the overall layout, the architecture of the Savior chapel externally complements the form of the principal church, as seen from the southeast (Fig. 3).

In the twin satellite variant, pairs of chapels are symmetrically disposed in relation to the main church. Such chapels are usually found flanking either the narthex (Fig. 1, 1-B), or the sanctuary of the church (Fig. 1, 1-C). Pairs of chapels symmetrically flanking the naos must have also existed, although no Middle Byzantine examples survive. The late thirteenth-century church of the Davidovica Monastery in Serbia may be cited as a later example illustrating this arrangement.¹²

The oldest and largest surviving church with a pair of chapels symmetrically framing the narthex is the katholikon of the Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos, built after 961 (Fig. 4).¹³ Its characteristic plan, featuring a trefoil naos pre-

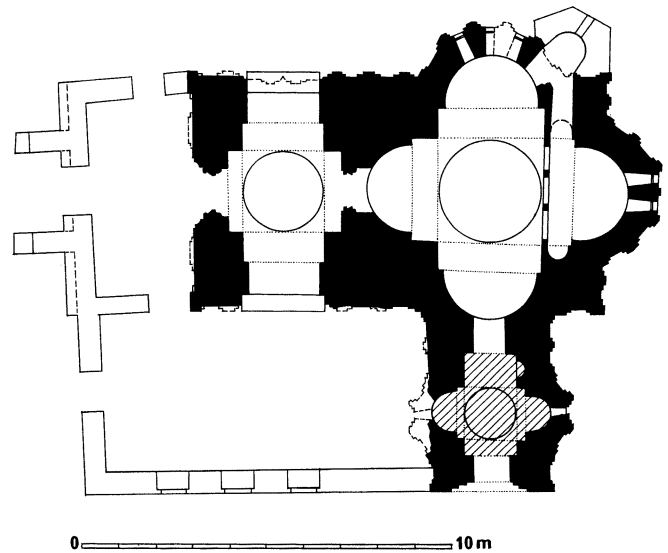


Fig. 2. Veljusa, Bogorodica Eleousa, 1080. Plan (author; redrawn from Miljković-Peppek).

ceded by a narthex flanked by two chapels (Fig. 5), became a frequently imitated model in subsequent church construction on Mount Athos. Although the fully visible lateral chapels in this case have a developed cross-in-square plan seldom used for subsidiary chapels, of primary interest here is the basic planning principle: two chapels are symmetrically disposed around the main building, so that their domes visually frame the main dome. Although the original form of the inner narthex underwent substantial change in the



Fig. 3. Bogorodica Eleousa. From southeast (photo: Mango, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington, D.C.).

11. Petar Miljković-Peppek, "Novootkrieni arhitekturni i slikarski spomenici vo Makedonija od XI do XIV vek," *Kulturno nasledstvo*, v (1973), 5–6, with the most accurate plan of the church published to date. A monograph on this important monument is promised by Miljković-Peppek.

12. Jovan Nešković, "Crkva manastira Davidovice na Limu," *Saopštenja Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture*, iv (1961), 89–112.

13. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 216. The most thorough study on the Lavra katholikon still remains Gabriel Millet, "Recherches au Mont-Athos," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, xxix (1905), 72–98.



Fig. 4. Mount Athos, Lavra Monastery, Katholikon, after 961. From south (photo: Dölger).

nineteenth century, the initial appearance of the church is known from older depictions (Fig. 6). Obviously, the builder of the Lavra katholikon, in addition to providing a pair of required funerary chapels, was able to use them as formal components of the total composition.¹⁴

A related formal role was played by pairs of lateral chapels flanking church sanctuaries. The best-known example of this variant survives in a fragmentary state—the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips (the north church of the Fenari Isa Camii complex) in Istanbul, dated 907.¹⁵ The tripartite eastern end of the church was initially flanked by two single-aisled chapels (Fig. 27-A). The south chapel was incorporated into the new church added during the Palaeologan period, while the northern one survives only in

14. On the architectonic significance of these subsidiary chapels see S. Ćurčić, "The Twin-domed Narthex in Paleologan Architecture," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, XIII (1971), 341.

15. T. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul," with contributions by A. H. S. Megaw, C. Mango, and E. J. W. Hawkins, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XVIII (1964), 249–315.

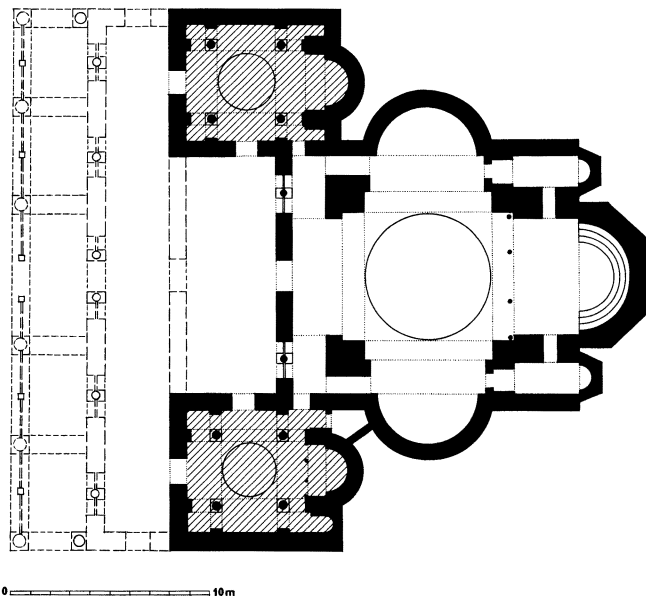


Fig. 5. Lavra Katholikon. Plan (author; redrawn from Millet).

foundation. Considerable controversy exists in the scholarly literature as to whether these chapels were projecting elements flanking the church sanctuary, as proposed by Megaw, or were incorporated into an outer ambulatory arrangement, as argued by Brunov.¹⁶ Brunov's use of the term

16. A. H. S. Megaw, "The Original Form of the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XVIII (1964), 279–298. N. Brunov, "Die fünfschiffige Kreuzkuppelkirche in der byzantinischen Baukunst," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXVII (1927), 63–98. In two of his later articles Brunov has disputed Megaw's findings: "Zum Problem des Kreuzkuppelsystems," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, XVI (1967), 245–261; and "K voprosu o srednevekovoi arkhitekture Konstantinopolia," *Vizantiiskii vremennik*, XXVIII (1968), 159–191.



Fig. 6. Mount Athos, Lavra Monastery, Refectory, Fresco depicting Death of St. Athanasius, sixteenth century. Detail showing Lavra Katholikon (photo: Millet).

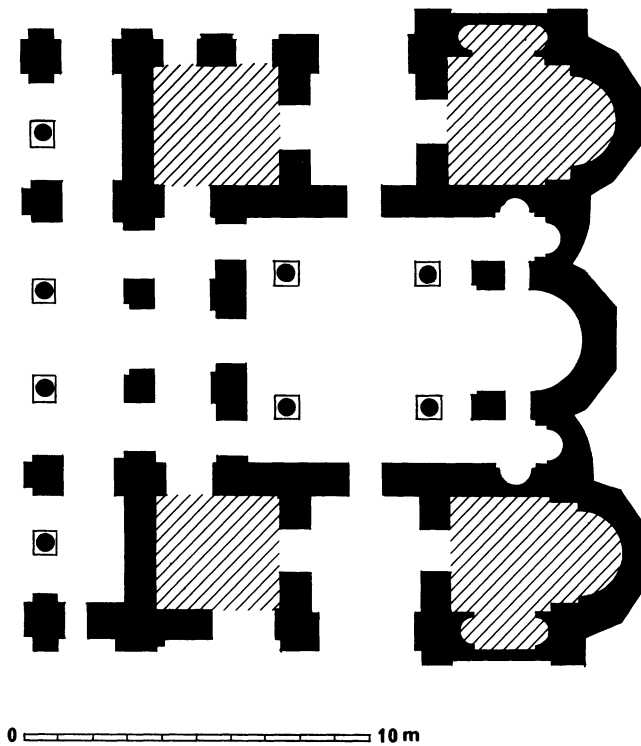


Fig. 7. Yilanca Bayir, Byzantine church, ninth century (?). Plan (author; redrawn from Mansel).

fünfschiffige Kirche to define buildings of this type was an unhappy choice of words. This, combined with his dogmatic insistence that almost all extant Middle Byzantine churches in Constantinople initially had such an arrangement, resulted in virtually uniform rejection of his theory by western scholars. Unfortunately, debate focused on the “five-aisled” plan, virtually ignoring the subsidiary chapels, which represent the *raison d’être* for the existence of such an arrangement. The Molla Gürânî Camii (Kilise Camii; St. Theodore?) in Istanbul, where a subsidiary chapel flanking the sanctuary on the south side still stood in the nineteenth century, but has since disappeared, is a case in point, clearly illustrating limitations to our knowledge and the need for proper archaeological investigations of such problems.¹⁷

17. There is no consensus on the date of the now lost southern chapel of the Molla Gürânî Camii (Kilise Camii). N. Brounoff (i.e., Brunov), “Rapport sur un voyage a Constantinople,” *Revue des Études Grecques*, xxxix (1926), 13, reports having seen considerable remains of the apse belonging to this chapel, “dont la technique est absolument identique à celle des parties du XI^e siècle.” He goes on to suggest the existence of a symmetrical chapel on the north side, for which he admits having found no archaeological proof. Horst Hallensleben, “Zu Annexbauten der Kilise Camii in Istanbul,” *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, xv (1965), rejects Brunov’s dating and considers the addition Palaeologan. Cyril Mango, “Constantinopolitana,” *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, lxxx (1966), 330, accepts Brunov’s dating of the chapel, but rejects his idea of a symmetrically disposed chapel as having existed on the north side. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 271,

The quadruple satellite variant (Fig. 1, 1-D) is illustrated by a church excavated in 1906 at Yilanca Bayir, near Libyssa (modern Diliskelesi) in Bithynia, and not too far from Istanbul.¹⁸ In many ways its layout recalls the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips: it was a four-column cross-in-square church, with a tripartite sanctuary, a narthex, a type of a porch on the west, and four lateral compartments flanking the naos on the north and the south side (Fig. 7). The eastern pair of these compartments undoubtedly housed chapels, as may be deduced from their spacious apses and elaborately articulated recesses in the lateral exterior walls which most likely contained burials. The function of the other, western pair of compartments cannot be determined with the same ease. Accessible from the narthex, they also provided access to an open space through their eastern walls. At first, this would seem to eliminate the possibility of these chambers ever having contained chapels. However, comparable arrangements elsewhere prevent us from excluding this possibility.¹⁹ The date of the church at Yilanca Bayir also remains uncertain. The ninth-century date for the monastery of the Nikētiatai, with which the church has been identified, would seem to be in general agreement with the character of its architecture.²⁰

Compact Arrangement

The second category also contains three basic variants: 1. twin chapel, 2. quadruple chapel, and 3. combination of compact and satellite chapels. The first variant displays pairs of chapels symmetrically placed either at the western (Fig. 1, 11-A) or at the eastern end of the building (Fig. 1, 11-B). In either case, the chapels are fully integrated with the architecture of the principal church, so that they are visually indistinguishable from the exterior. The partially ruined church of St. Demetrius at Varassova (on the north shore of the Bay of Corinth near the village of Vasiliki), dating from the second half of the tenth century, contains a western grouping of chapels (Fig. 8).²¹ The plan shows a pair of small square chapels flanking the western bay of the naos. The outer walls of both chapels are contiguous with those of the extreme northern and southern portions of naos and

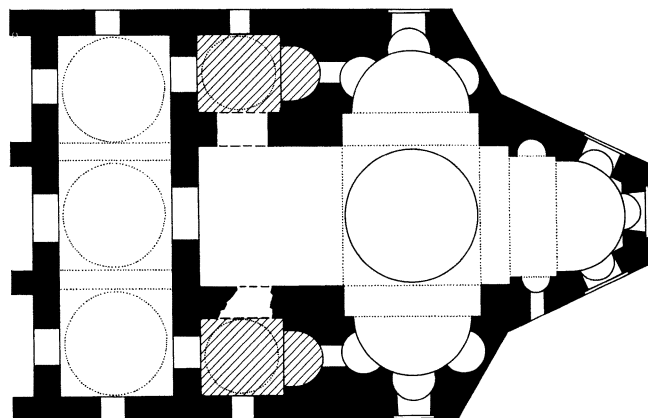
appears to have accepted Hallensleben’s interpretation. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 473, considers the chapel as being “possibly older” than the other Palaeologan additions to the building.

18. The essential findings of Wiegand, the excavator of the church, published originally in a not too readily available periodical (*Bosporus*), were conveniently summarized by Arif Müfid Mansel, “Zur Lage des Hannibalgrabes,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1972), pp. 271–274.

19. As, for example, in the katholikon of the Monastery of Hosios Lukas; see below p. 104, and Fig. 18.

20. Mansel, “Zur Lage des Hannibalgrabes,” p. 274.

21. Anastasios K. Orlandos, “Ho Hag. Dēmētrios tēs Varasovas,” *Archēion tōn Byzantinōn Mnēmeiōn tēs Hellados*, 1 (1935), 105–120.



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Fig. 8. Varassova, St. Demetrius, tenth or eleventh century. Plan (author; redrawn from Orlandos).

narthex, and thus indistinguishable from the outside. The eastern end of St. Demetrius, by contrast, displays a more animated outline, since neither pastophories nor lateral chapels were included at that point.

The articulation of the eastern end of the large church of the Panagia at Skripou, in Boeotia, built in 873–874, reveals the opposite situation.²² Here two large chapels of the same width as the aisles framing the western bay of the naos flank the bema (Fig. 9). These chapels occupy the usual positions

22. Maria G. Sotiriou, “Ho Naos tēs Skripous tēs Boiōtias,” *Archaiologikē Ephēmeris* (1931), pp. 119–157.

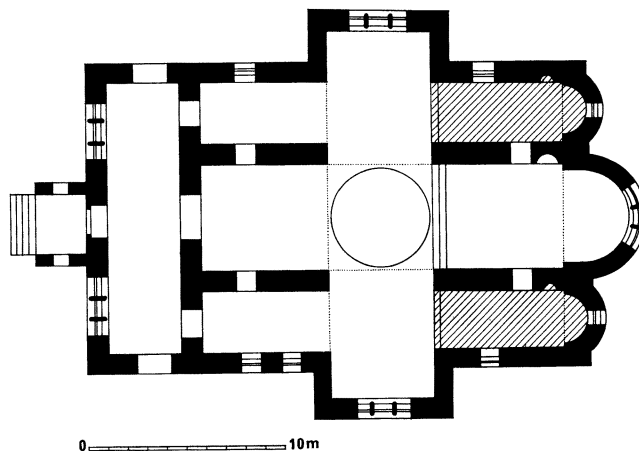


Fig. 9. Skripou, Panagia, 873–874. Plan (author; redrawn from M. Sotiriou).

of the prothesis and the diaconicon, but it can be shown that their function was not solely that of the pastophoria.²³ Dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul, these chapels represent functionally independent entities which are formally and structurally incorporated into a larger church (Fig. 10). They clearly illustrate that independent chapels could be integrated into the larger composition of the eastern end yet

23. On this problem see A. H. S. Megaw, “The Skripou Screen,” *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, LXI (1966), 3–4. The bema and the two lateral chapels have small semicircular niches in their northern walls, not far from their respective apses (cf. Fig. 9). These niches were clearly intended to serve as prothesis niches, adding an archaeological proof for their functional independence. Not all published floor plans of the church indicate these three niches.



Fig. 10. Panagia. From northeast (photo: Bouras).

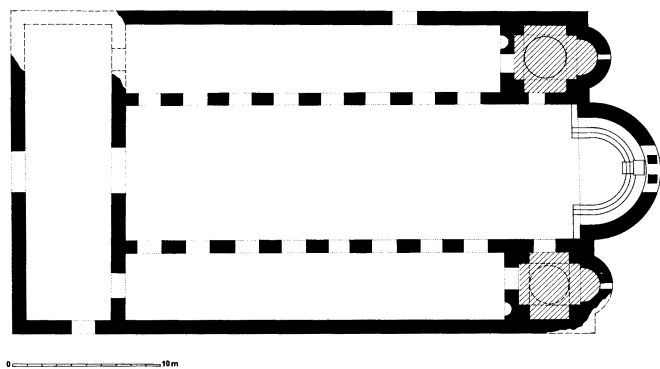


Fig. 11. Mikra Prespa, St. Achilleos, tenth century. Plan (author; redrawn from Moutsopoulos).

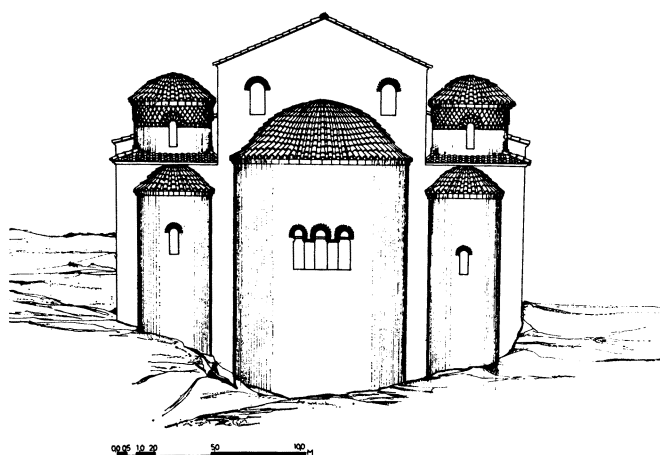


Fig. 12. St. Achilleos. East elevation, reconstruction (Moutsopoulos).

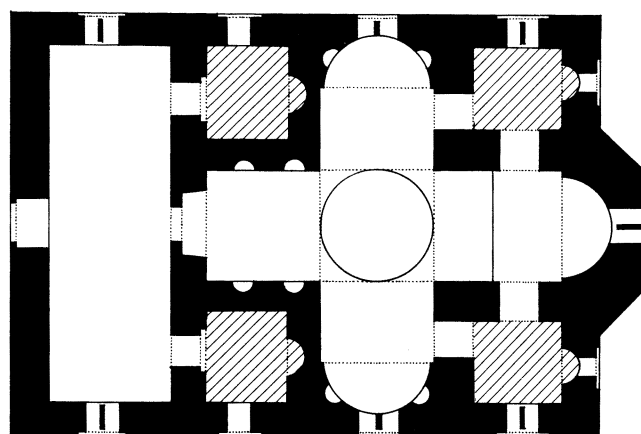


Fig. 13. Aulis, St. Nicholas, mid-eleventh century. Plan (author; redrawn from Bouras). Destroyed.

remain distinct in function as well as dedication. A three-space organization, therefore, did not necessarily house a “tripartite sanctuary”—a formula so readily applied to Middle Byzantine architecture. The churches at Varassova and at Skripou collectively demonstrate that a Middle Byzantine church could function without a developed tripartite sanctuary, and that the tripartite organization of the eastern end did not necessarily imply the presence of a tripartite sanctuary in a given church. The overlapping roles of subsidiary chapels and pastophories are confirmed as well by sources and iconographic programs which illuminate their purposes more fully.²⁴

The appearance of domed chapels flanking bemas of basilican churches was apparently widespread during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Although these chapels were often added to older structures,²⁵ in at least one case—at the basilica of St. Achilleos on the lake of Mikra Prespa, in northern Greece, dating from the tenth century—they are contemporary with the main building (Fig. 11).²⁶ The south chapel apparently served as a mausoleum-martyrion. In its southern wall it contained a representative tomb, presumably that of St. Achilleos. The chapels were covered by domes elevated on tall drums pierced by four windows. This symmetrical organization of domed chapels played an important formal role in the architectural articulation of the eastern end of the basilica of St. Achilleos (Fig. 12).

No other chapel arrangement was as widespread and as significant in the evolution of Middle Byzantine church architecture as the quadruple chapel variant of the compact arrangement type (Fig. 1, II-C). Few examples, however, are preserved intact. One of the clearest statements of this concept—the church of St. Nicholas at Aulis, in Boeotia—is known only from drawings and photographs made prior to its destruction.²⁷ Dating from around the middle of the eleventh century, the church represents a mature version of

24. For sources see Babić, *Les Chapelles annexes*, pp. 61–65; and for the iconographic programs pp. 105–125.

25. Such as, for example, the metropolitan church of Serres, and St. Sophia at Nicaea. For the former see Anastasios K. Orlandos, “Hē Mētopolis tōn Serrōn,” *Archeion tōn Byzantinōn Mnēmēiōn tēs Hellados*, v (1939–1940), 153–166; for the latter A. M. Schneider, *Die Römischen und Byzantinischen Denkmäler von Iznik-Nicaea, Istanbul Forschungen* 16 (Berlin, 1943), 10–17.

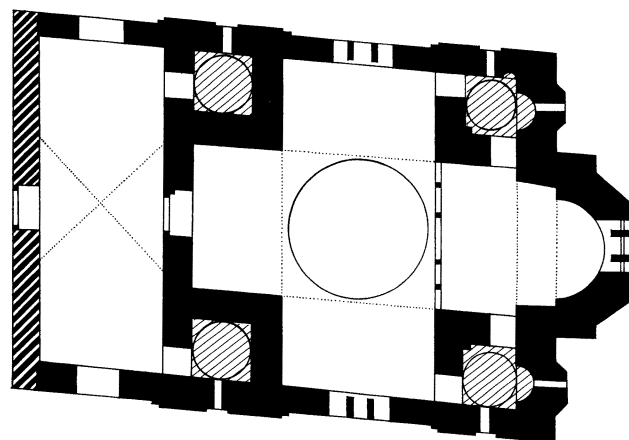
26. The basilica of St. Achilleos has been a subject of meticulous investigation under the guidance of N. Moutsopoulos. The last in a series of exhaustive reports presents summaries of the most important findings: Nikolaos K. Moutsopoulos, “Anaskaphē tēs basilikēs tou Hagiou Achilleiou,” *Epistimonikē epetērīs tēs Polytechnikēs Scholēs, Aristoteleion Panepistēmion Thessalonikēs*, v (1971–1972), 149–425. Reconstruction drawings also appear in this report (figs. 12–15, and pls. Δ', E', and ΣΤ').

27. The available documentary material on the church has been collected and a hypothetical reconstruction proposed; see Ch. Bouras, “Symplēromatika stoicheia gia ena katestrammeno nao tēs Boiotias,” *Deltion tēs christianikēs archaiologikēs hetaireias*, iv (1964–1965), 227–244.

this arrangement. Four nearly identical squarish chapels with absidioles occupy the four corners between the arms of a Greek cross (Fig. 13). The Greek cross in this case is actually an expanded version of a triconch, since its eastern, southern, and northern arms terminate in apses. Of these only the eastern one is visible on the exterior. The other two apses, along with the corner chapels, are contained within a simple rectilinear perimeter of the building. A successful architectural integration of several distinct components into a simple, coherent composition was achieved.

A similar solution may be seen in the well-preserved, though somewhat later church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi, near Skopje in Macedonia.²⁸ The plan of the church, despite its irregularities, reveals the same planning principles as the church at Aulis (Fig. 14). Here the Greek cross is “pure,” only its eastern arm being elongated in a conventional manner by a short bay, and terminated by the apse. The four corner chapels are segregated from the naos by massive walls and, like those at Aulis, are accessible from the narthex and from the lateral arms of the cross; the eastern pair also

28. No serious study on the architecture of Nerezi exists. The most recent note citing the earlier relevant literature is Petar Miljković-Pepel, “Prilozi proučavanju crkve manastira Nereza,” *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti*, x (1974), 311–322, although with some erroneous conclusions regarding the later history of the building. During a recent restoration of the church, the entire western and substantial portions of the southern and northern walls of the narthex were rebuilt, presumably along the original lines. Fig. 14 shows the church prior to this recent remodelling.



0 10m

Fig. 14. Nerezi, St. Panteleimon, 1164. Plan (author; redrawn from Bošković).

communicates with the bema. As at St. Nicholas the subsidiary chapels were used as integral components of a larger scheme. Outside, four small domes elevated on square drums mark the four chapels (Fig. 15), becoming vital elements in the formal articulation of the building mass. Dated by an inscription to 1164, the church was linked to the imperial capital through its donor, one Alexios Angelos-Komnenos.²⁹

29. The identity of Alexios Angelos-Komnenos was determined by G. A. Ostrogorskii, “Vozv’shenie roda Angelov,” *ŭbilen’ii sbornik russkago arkhelogicheskago obshchestva v Korolevstvie ŭgoslavii* (Belgrade, 1936), pp. 111–128.



Fig. 15. St. Panteleimon. From southeast (photo: author).

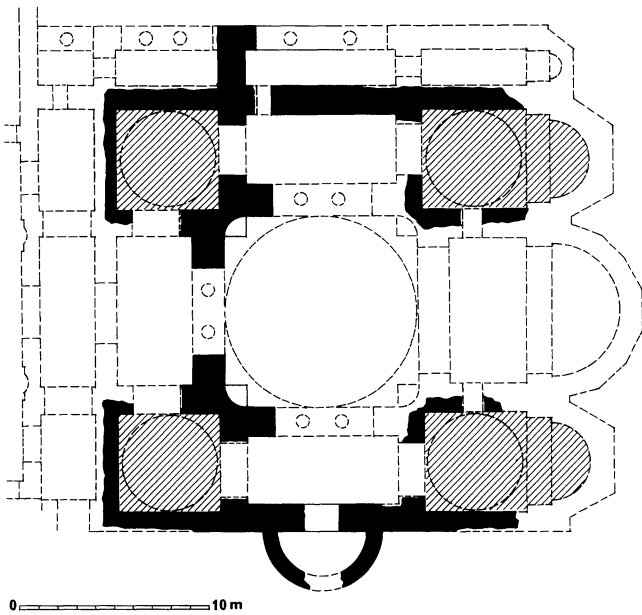


Fig. 16. Istanbul, St. George of Mangana, 1042–1055. Plan (author; redrawn from Mamboury).

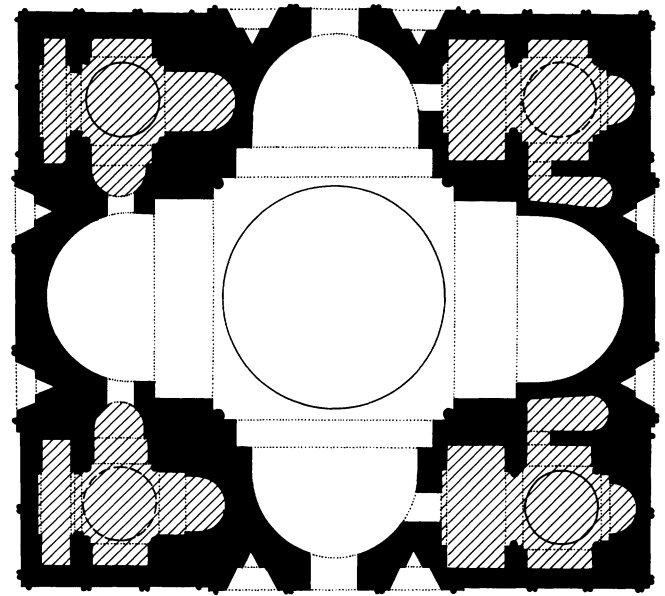


Fig. 17. Ani, Church of Arakelots, first quarter of eleventh century. Plan (author; redrawn from Strzygowski).

This link with Constantinople is of particular interest, for there are indications that several five-domed churches from the Middle Byzantine period may have existed there, though none are extant. The excavated remains of the church of St. George of Mangana, for example, display some resemblances with Nerezi (Fig. 16).³⁰ Disregarding the considerable difference in scale, we can point out common aspects of their plans. The large dome of St. George would have rested on the four massive corner piers separating naos from subsidiary spaces. The four corner compartments—presumably chapels—were, according to the excavators, originally domed, thus making the structure a five-domed church.³¹ Among Constantinopolitan five-domed churches of the post-Iconoclastic era, the oldest and the most important was the Nea Ekklesia, the “new church,” built on the grounds of the Imperial Palace and dedicated in 880 by Emperor Basil I.³² Known only from literary sources and several renderings made prior to its destruction at the end of the fifteenth century, the Nea Ekklesia had five dedications, four of which have been related to subsidiary chapels

and to four subsidiary domes.³³ Without developing this issue here, I suggest that the church of St. Panteleimon might be viewed as a conservative reflection of much older similar solutions in the capital itself.

The church of St. George of Mangana has recently been discussed in the light of possible Armenian influence in the Byzantine capital.³⁴ The extent of this impact on the evolution of Byzantine architecture is far from adequately answered. In the context of this discussion, it seems appropriate to emphasize the basic planning similarity of Middle Byzantine churches featuring the compact arrangement of four corner chapels with an established Armenian tradition relying on the same basic design premises. The church of St. Hripsime at Vagharshapat illustrates the point. The mature planning evident in this early seventh-century church continued to be employed in Armenia during subsequent centuries. At least one monumental example may be singled out, the church of the Arakelots (Holy Apostles) at Ani, dating from the first quarter of the eleventh century.³⁵ Displaying a complex plan with quatrefoil naos and four elaborate corner chapels, all carefully integrated into a single

30. R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manges et la première région de Constantinople* (Paris, 1939), pp. 19–37, and pls. iv–vi.

31. Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manges*, p. 26. The authors of the text attribute this observation to Anna Comnena, but without providing a reference. Consequently, the reconstruction of the church of St. George remains conjectural.

32. The theoretical importance of the Nea Ekklesia has been discussed on numerous occasions. Most recently, its place in the development of Middle Byzantine church architecture is considered by Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 376–377, and Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 196–197.

33. My review of Babić, *Les Chapelles annexes*, p. 451, and Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 203.

34. Cyril Mango, “A Note on Panagia Kamariotissa and Some Imperial Foundations of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries at Constantinople” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxvii (1973), 130–132; also Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 231.

35. *Architettura Medievale Armena*, p. 112. This and other recent publications rely on the church plan first published by Josef Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1918), I, 106, fig. 105.

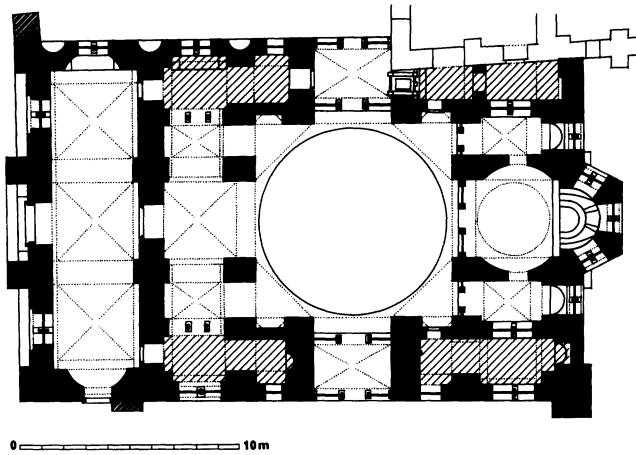


Fig. 18. Stiris, Hosios Lukas Monastery, Katholikon, first half of eleventh century. Plan (author; redrawn from Stikas).

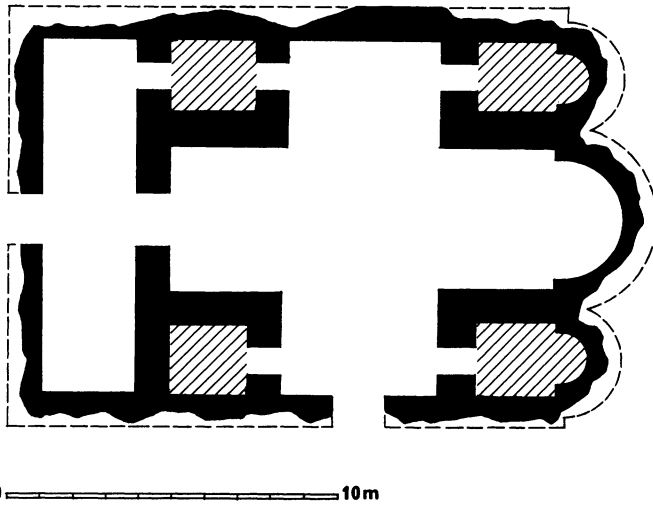


Fig. 19. Büyükada, Byzantine church, early eighth century (?). Plan (author; redrawn from Eyice).

composition (Fig. 17), it is generally agreed that the chapels were originally covered by domes elevated on tall drums. Thus, the hypothetical reconstruction yields a five-domed church.³⁶ Since we have no earlier examples of Armenian five-domed churches, it may be that the solution at the Arakelots church represents a continuation of earlier Middle Byzantine practice.

Another group of Middle Byzantine churches—the so-called “Greek-cross-octagon” type³⁷—seems to add credence to the Armenian connection. These buildings contain “octagon domed” cores and projecting arms. The corner compartments between the arms of the cross are usually occupied by chapels integrated into the architecture of the building, producing a simplified, boxy external appearance.

36. For the reconstruction drawing see N. M. Tokarskii, *Arkhitektura Armenii IV–XIV* (Erevan, 1961), 204, fig. 68.

37. This term is adopted from Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 356–357, where the type is described in some detail.

The oldest and finest extant church of this type is the katholikon of the monastery of Hosios Lukas.³⁸ Here the eastern pair of chapels flanks the tripartite sanctuary, while the western units frame the western portion of the naos and are accessible both from the naos and from the narthex (Fig. 18). The varying functions of these chapels and their iconographic programs have been discussed in depth.³⁹ Without dwelling on their architectural character, a few details deserve attention. The western chapels are segregated from the naos by columnar screens. Although at first appearing as virtual mirror-images of each other, they are in fact significantly different. The southern chapel is outfitted with an absidiole in its eastern wall, while its northern counterpart has a door in the equivalent location. Distinct functions of these two chapels—the former serving as the baptistery, the latter being a funerary chapel—may account for such major differences. The case of the northwest chapel is particularly instructive, for it indicates that a chapel need not have an apse or an absidiole, and that a chapel could be accommodated in a chamber with a passage in its eastern wall. Such chapels would have relatively limited use, and could most likely be closed off as necessary.

The katholikon of Hosios Lukas dates to the first half of the eleventh century, and possibly to the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos.⁴⁰ Links with Armenian architecture have long been claimed on the basis of its structural system.⁴¹ These notions can now be supported by the observations made here regarding the compact arrangement of its four corner chapels. Proliferation of similar schemes in Armenia from the seventh century on indicates planning tradition established long before the beginning of the Middle Byzantine period. When and how such planning concepts reached Byzantium and if, indeed, they came from Armenia, are difficult to assess given the current state of information. If the early eighth-century dating for an excavated Byzantine church of this type at Büyükada, near Amasra on the Black Sea (Fig. 19), is correct, such developments may long predate the inception of the Middle Byzantine era.⁴² Keeping in mind

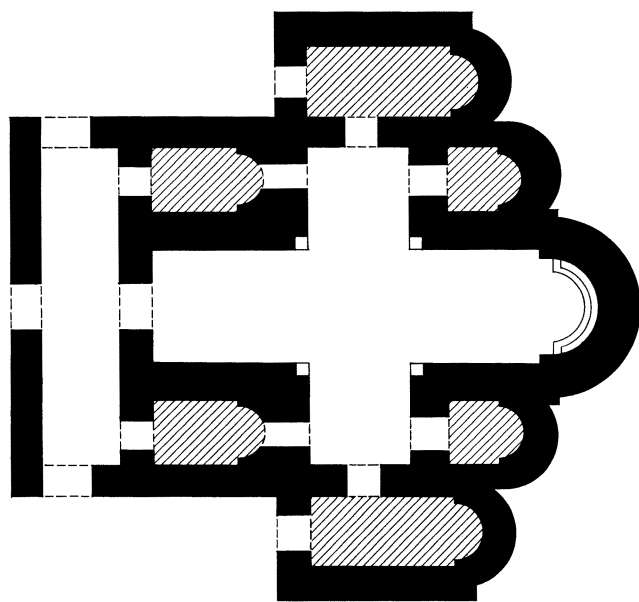
38. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 405ff. and fn. 45; also Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 219–222 and fn. 25, both with references to relevant recent literature.

39. Babić, *Les Chapelles annexes*, pp. 163ff.; and Théano Chatzidakis, “Particularités iconographiques du décor peint des chapelles occidentales de Saint-Luc en Phocide,” *Cahiers Archéologiques*, xxii (1972), 89–113.

40. See fn. 38. Krautheimer accepts the dating 1011–1022 proposed by M. Chatzidakis, while Mango gives also the dating 1042–1055 proposed by Stikas, but cautiously leaves the question of dating the katholikon open.

41. Most recently Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 222ff. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 357–359, points out this possibility, but also hastens to emphasize the differences between Armenian and Middle Byzantine architecture.

42. Semavi Eyice, “Amasra ‘Büyükada’ sinda bir Bizans kilisesi,” *Belleten, Türk Tarih Kurumu*, xv (1951), 469–496.



0 10 m

Fig. 20. Chersonesos, church, first half of tenth century (?). Plan (author; redrawn from Brunov).

recent observations on the appearance of cross-in-square churches in Byzantine architecture,⁴³ we might well seek the roots of the major Middle Byzantine planning concepts in Iconoclastic, or even in pre-Iconoclastic times.

The last variant of the compact arrangement type is unusual and rare. It displays the quadripartite chapel organization combined with an additional pair of chapels symmetrically flanking the central portion of the structure (Fig. 1, II-D). Since the latter chapels are clearly visible on the exterior, this variant actually represents an uncommon combination of the compact and satellite arrangements in the same structure. This variant is illustrated by a church excavated in 1906 at Chersonesos, in the Crimea, and dated in the first half of the tenth century.⁴⁴ Six, instead of the usual two or four, chapels are integrated into a tightly organized plan (Fig. 20). Unfortunately, more cannot be said about the disposition of building masses, since only the foundations of the church were preserved. On the basis of numerous analogies, it is safe to assume that the same compositional care evident in plan would have prevailed in the three-dimensional composition.

43. Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXVII (1973), 273-274.

44. M. N. Brunov, "Une Église Byzantine a Chersonèse," *L'Art byzantin chez les Slaves*, II, 1 (Paris, 1932), 25-34.

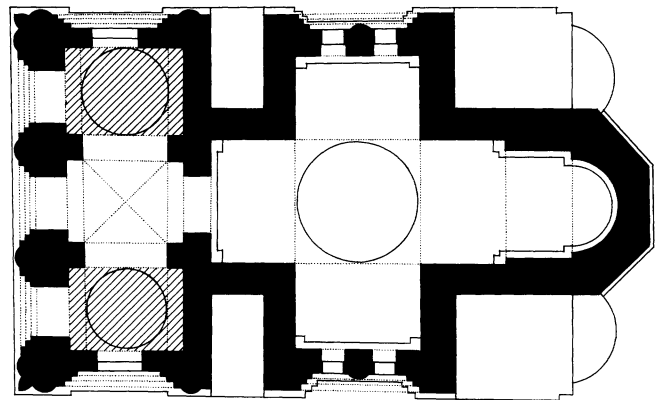


Fig. 21. Thessaloniki, Panagia tōn Chalkeōn, 1028. From south (photo: author).

Gallery Arrangement

The last category of subsidiary chapels is distinguished by their position on an upper level which may have the form of a conventional gallery (Fig. 1, III). Concerning the physical relation of these chapels to the naos, we observe the same arrangement as with ground-level chapels of the compact type. Gallery chapels are less common than their ground-level counterparts, just as churches with galleries are less common than those without them. Architecturally, churches with gallery chapels are far more complex than comparable churches with ground-level chapels. Identical units must be projected to an upper level, while vertical and horizontal communication present special problems not encountered in the planning of ground-level chapels. Formally, such churches display steeper proportions, accommodating two functional levels over the same floor area. There are two basic variants of this type: 1. twin chapel, with chapels organized either at the west (Fig. 1, III-A), or at the east end of the church (Fig. 1, III-B), and 2. quadruple chapel (Fig. 1, III-C).

The first variant is the simpler of the two. Chapels appear symmetrically disposed at the extreme ends of a short gallery space. The full width of this arrangement, including the two chapels and the intervening gallery space, corresponds exactly to the width of the narthex below. The best-preserved church of this type is the Panagia tōn Chalkeōn in Thessaloniki (Fig. 21).⁴⁵ Securely dated 1028, the Panagia tōn Chalkeōn is one of the finest extant Middle Byzantine monuments, despite extensive restoration carried out in the 1930s. The church is based on a typical four-column, cross-in-square plan preceded by a narthex. A narrow staircase accommodated within the thickness of the southern exterior wall yields access to the gallery located directly above the narthex. The plan of the gallery level of the Panagia tōn Chalkeōn reveals two semienclosed, domed compartments at the extreme northwest and southwest corners of the building (Fig. 22). Although no fresco decoration is preserved in these spaces, we are safe in proposing that they were intended to function as separate chapels, since comparable Middle Byzantine solutions may be seen on Mount



0 10 m

Fig. 22. Panagia tōn Chalkeōn. Gallery level plan (author).

Athos and in Russia.⁴⁶ The formal role of these domed chapels is revealed by the west façade of the church (Fig. 23). The symmetrical disposition of the domes accents that part of the building which, given the attenuated proportions, recalls twin-tower façades of Romanesque churches, though the two phenomena are unrelated. The west façade of the Panagia tōn Chalkeōn further suggests that the lateral bays on the upper level framed by massive arcades visually identify individual chapels, while the horizontal string course implies a separation between the narthex and the gallery level above it. Correlating this visual information with the transverse section of the narthex (Fig. 24) reveals several structural discrepancies. The lower arcade on the exterior, for example, though in visual alignment with the upper arcade, has no relationship with the structural disposition of the narthex. Furthermore, the visually prominent string course actually occurs on a much lower level than the floor of the gallery. The case of the Panagia tōn Chalkeōn shows that even as late as the first half of the eleventh century the integration of subsidiary chapels into the building organism was not a fully resolved problem. At this point it is impossible to determine whether such discrepancies were the result of deterioration of established principles of construction or if they evolved from new experimentation with chapel arrangements.

Elevated domed chapels on gallery level played yet another role in the formal articulation of the building. By superimposing a gallery level above the narthex, and in

45. The monograph on the church is D. E. Evangelidēs, *Hē Panagia tōn Chalkeōn* (Thessaloniki, 1954), with a set of drawings which, though lacking in detail, in part supersede the survey of M. Le Tourneau and H. Saladin in Ch. Diehl, M. Le Tourneau, and H. Saladin, *Les Monuments chrétiens de Salonique* (Paris, 1918), pls. I–LIII. Evangelidēs' erroneous dating (1044) is pointed out by Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 525, fn. 33. Evangelidēs' idea that the gallery over the narthex was added in the twelfth century is rejected by Karoline Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalereien des XI Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Panagia tōn Chalkeōn* (Graz and Cologne, 1966), pp. 13–15.

46. Athonite examples are found in the katholika of Vatopedi and Iviron. A similar arrangement, though without domes, possibly existed in the Lavra katholikon prior to its remodelling in the nineteenth century; see Millet, "Recherches au Mont-Athos," p. 91. The best Russian example is the church of St. George at Staraia Ladoga, from the second half of the twelfth century; see V. N. Lazarev, *Freski Staroi Ladogi* (Moscow, 1960), p. 13 and figs. 3, 6, 8, and 9.



Fig. 23. Panagia tōn Chalkeōn. West façade (photo: author).

order to facilitate visual communication between the gallery level and the naos, the builder was obliged to increase the height of the vaults over the arms of the cross. Consequently, the internal proportions of the naos were changed, resulting in an exceptionally steep space.⁴⁷ Subsidiary chapels thus not only affected exterior appearance, but in certain cases altered the proportions of interiors as well.

Some general similarities may be noted among churches displaying pairs of chapels flanking their eastern ends. These chapels normally occur above pastophories and at the far ends of lateral galleries which provide access to the respective chapels. Churches in this group then, by necessity, have galleries which circumvent the central space of the naos.

47. N. K. Mutsopoulos (i.e., Moutsopoulos), "Harmonische Bauschnitte in den Kirchen vom Typ kreuzförmigen Innenbaus im Griechischen Kernland," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, LV (1962), 274–291, is a comparative study of twelve Middle Byzantine churches in mainland Greece. The Panagia tōn Chalkeōn, as one of the churches considered, stands out as the one with the most attenuated proportions. It should be added, however, that the Panagia tōn Chalkeōn is the only example with a gallery over its narthex. These two unique aspects of the Panagia tōn Chalkeōn are undoubtedly related.

Several large-scale Middle Byzantine churches preserve this arrangement. Of these, the church of St. Sophia at Vize (originally Bizye) in Turkish Thrace, is perhaps the oldest.⁴⁸ The church at Dereāgzi, in Lycia, dating from the second half of the ninth century, has a similar disposition, though it is much larger and more sophisticated in the articulation of its architectural forms.⁴⁹ Its gallery chapels are compact quatrefoils, repeating the shape of the pastophories on the ground level, but they survive in a very poor state of preservation. A most interesting pair of gallery chapels flanking the eastern end of a church are those at St. Sophia in Ohrid, Macedonia (Fig. 25). St. Sophia, the cathedral church of Ohrid, was probably rebuilt under the Archbishop Leo (1037–1056) as a basilican church with a transept, a dome over the crossing, lateral galleries, and a large two-storied narthex.⁵⁰ The church was substantially altered in subsequent centuries. The addition in 1313–1314 of a huge, two-storied exonarthex with two domed compartments at its extreme ends, and the later disappearance of the dome, the transept, and the lateral galleries, are but the most significant changes.⁵¹ Considerable disagreement exists over the original appearance of the eastern portion of the church. The two gallery chapels have been said to belong to the original ninth-century building, to the eleventh-century structure, to the twelfth or thirteenth century, and to the fourteenth-century remodelling, while the surviving fresco decoration in the southern chapel has been dated to the twelfth century.⁵² At present these two chapels are inac-

48. Cyril Mango, "The Byzantine Church at Vize (Bizye) in Thrace and St. Mary the Younger," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, XI (1968), 9–13. Semavi Eyice, "Les Monuments byzantins de la Thrace turque," *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, XVIII (1971), 293–297 and fig. 1, gives the plans of the ground and gallery levels of the church. Eyice also attempted, though not convincingly, to date the church at Vize in the thirteenth or fourteenth century on the basis of its architectural characteristics. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 172, has modified his original dating (900 as the *terminus ante quem*) to the end of the eighth or the ninth century.

49. J. Morganstern, "The Church at Dereāgzi," pp. 217–225.

50. A considerable literature exists on St. Sophia at Ohrid. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 328 and fn. 27, lists the most important works and offers his commentaries.

51. The best account of the history of the building is given by Radivoje Ljubinković, "Sveta Sofija u Ohridu," *Konzervatorski radovi na crkvi Sv. Sofije u Ohridu* (Belgrade, 1955), pp. 9–18. See also Dj. Bošković and K. Tomovski, "L'Architecture médiévale d'Ohrid," *Recueil de travaux*, Musée National d'Ohrid, Édition spéciale (Ohrid, 1961), pp. 76–83.

52. Ninth-century dating is proposed by Djordje Stričević, "La Rénovation du type basilical dans l'architecture ecclésiastique des pays centrales des Balkans au IX^e–XI^e siècles," *Actes du XII^e Congrès international d'études byzantines*, I (Belgrade, 1963), 193; early eleventh-century dating is given by Ljubinković, "Sveta Sofija," pp. 11–13; a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century date is proposed by D. Koco, "Nouvelles considérations sur l'église de Sainte-Sophie à Ohrid," *Archaeologia iugoslavica*, II (1956), 140, who thereby changed the fourteenth-century dating of his earlier "Crkvata Sv. Sofija vo Ohrid," *Godišen zbornik*, Filozofski fakultet na Univerzitetot,

cessible; with the disappearance of the lateral galleries they have been cut off completely from the rest of the church (Fig. 26). The northern side was totally enclosed when its western opening was walled up. A partial collapse of the same wall in the south chapel rendered it accessible to experts at the time of major restoration work carried out between 1950 and 1955.⁵³ Although repairs must have been executed on the eastern end of St. Sophia in the fourteenth century, as indicated by characteristically fourteenth-century masonry on portions of all three apses, there seems to be little reason to doubt that these gallery chapels were planned and built together with the church in the eleventh century. They would have represented integral components of a cross-domed church with galleries. Externally, these chapels clearly reveal the manner of their formal integration into the original design. Their apses, though smaller in diameter, and therefore structurally discontinuous, are axially aligned with the apses of the pastophories below them. They complement the compositional order of the east façade of the church without losing their own identity. The pair of gallery chapels at Ohrid represents yet another confirmation of Middle Byzantine builders' ingenuity at integrating subsidiary chapels into complex church organisms.

As opposed to the very common occurrence of the quadruple arrangement of subsidiary chapels at ground level,

Skopje, II (1949), 352–353. A fourteenth-century date is supported by Bošković and Tomovski, "L'Architecture médiévale d'Ohrid," pp. 81–82. A twelfth-century date for the frescoes in the northern gallery chapel is given by Babić, *Les Chapelles annexes*, pp. 110f.

53. Babić, *Les Chapelles annexes*, pp. 110f.

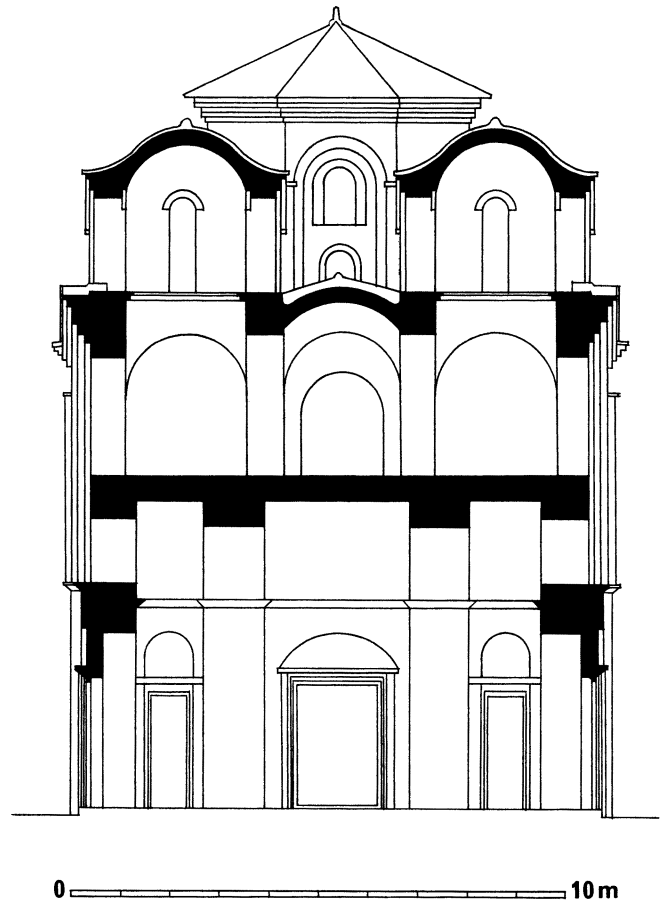


Fig. 24. Panagia tōn Chalkeōn. Transverse section through narthex (author; redrawn from Evangelidēs).



Fig. 25. Ohrid, St. Sophia, 1037–1056 (?). From east (photo: author).

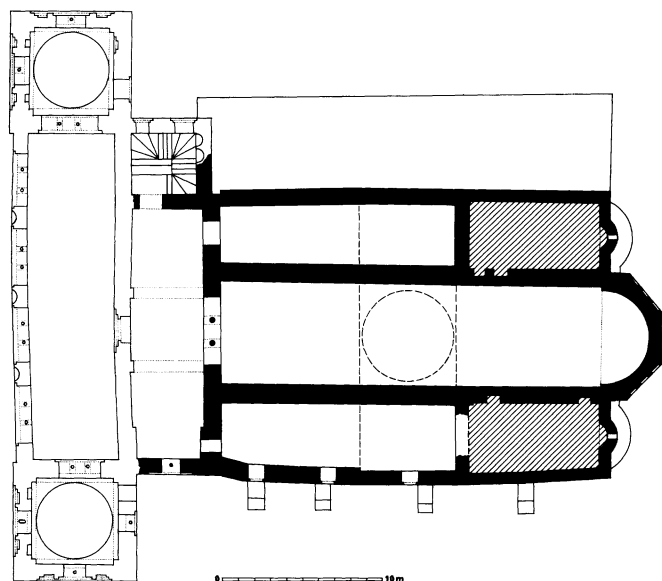


Fig. 26. St. Sophia. Gallery level plan (author; redrawn from Ljubinković and Bošković).

the comparable arrangement at gallery level appears to have been rare. The best-preserved example is the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips in Istanbul, dated 907.⁵⁴ The gallery level of this church presents one of the most sophisticated formal displays in Middle Byzantine architecture (Fig. 27-B). A system of four chapels is carefully integrated into the corner spaces between the arms of the main cross. The cross, however, is extended along the east-west axis, resulting in the elongation of the chapel plans as well. By relating this elaborate gallery plan to the plan of the ground level of the same church (Fig. 27-A), the degree of formal and spatial complexity which Constantinopolitan builders of the tenth century were capable of mastering is revealed. An almost modular system of domed quatrefoils is employed in an ingenious manner to satisfy both the functional and formal requirements of the gallery arrangement. Four quatrefoils are fitted tightly into the corners between the arms of the cross which defines the space of the naos below. These four spatial units were intended to accommodate different activities. The eastern pair served as vestibules to the chapels whose centers, complete with separate miniscule sanctuaries, are found still farther to the east. The western pair, by contrast, provided sanctuaries for the western pair of chapels, whose spaces extended westward into rectangular bays, in their original state presumably topped by domes elevated on drums. Megaw has proposed that four domes originally stood over the four extreme bays of the church, giving it the characteristic five-domed exterior silhouette

54. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips," pp. 249–315, *passim*, where the plan of the gallery level drawn by E. Mamboury is reproduced (fig. 9).

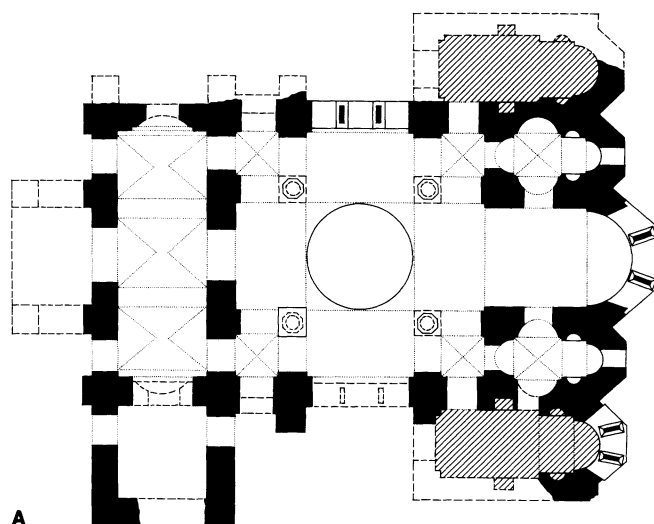


Fig. 27. Istanbul, Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips, 907. (A) Ground level plan (author; redrawn from Megaw); (B) Gallery level plan (author; redrawn from Mamboury).

(Fig. 28).⁵⁵ While the layout of these chapels is relatively clear, their means of access remains uncertain. It seems obvious that some type of an elevated walk, whether supported by marble brackets, as suggested by Megaw, or by the roofs of the flanking ambulatory spaces below, as argued by Brunov, must have existed in order to make the eastern pair of chapels accessible.⁵⁶ This controversy aside, the im-

55. Megaw, "The Original Form of the Theotokos Church," pp. 292–293. Unfortunately, there is no archaeological proof for the existence of drums, though such a possibility should not be excluded.

56. Megaw, "The Original Form of the Theotokos Church," p. 290. Brunov, "K voprosu o srednevekovoi arkhitekture Konstantinopolia," pp. 168f., argues against Megaw's reconstruction involving corbelled marble balconies yielding access to the eastern pair of gallery chapels. Brunov's attempt to discount Megaw's idea is echoed by A. N. Popov, "Izvestiia li ostatki kamennikh balok v stene severnoi tserkvi Fenari-Issa v Stambule ostatkami opor balkona?" *Vizantiiskii vremennik*, xxviii (1968), 192–194, who argues against the possibility of the existence of such balconies from the structural standpoint.

portant formal role played by the gallery chapels in this scheme, as well as their effect on other aspects of this church as a whole, should be emphasized.⁵⁷

* * *

In conclusion, some general observations concerning Middle Byzantine subsidiary chapels are in order. The quadruple compact arrangement is the most frequent and persistent. It may well be one of the oldest schemes. It is possibly dependent on earlier Armenian examples, and its origins in all likelihood antedate the end of Iconoclasm. The frequency with which the quadruple compact arrangement of subsidiary chapels is tied to building cores recalling those of the so-called “cross-domed churches”⁵⁸ seems to reinforce this hypothesis. Both other arrangements of subsidiary chapels—the satellite and the gallery arrangement—are more commonly associated with “cross-in-square” churches. Although the first appearance of a cross-in-square church antedates the end of the Iconoclastic era, their wide proliferation took place only after 843. The surviving examples of subsidiary chapels related to the cross-in-square scheme are, to our knowledge, all post-Iconoclastic. Yet the physical relationship of the individual chapels to the naos in the majority of these cases reveals an experimental nature, surprising if one considers their relatively late date. This apparent paradox may be tentatively related to the chronology of the “cross-domed” vis-à-vis “cross-in-square” churches. That viewpoint permits the suggestion that the quadruple compact arrangement was a traditional scheme, rooted in pre-Iconoclastic or Iconoclastic architecture, and that it possibly stemmed from the Armenian planning concepts. The subsequent emer-

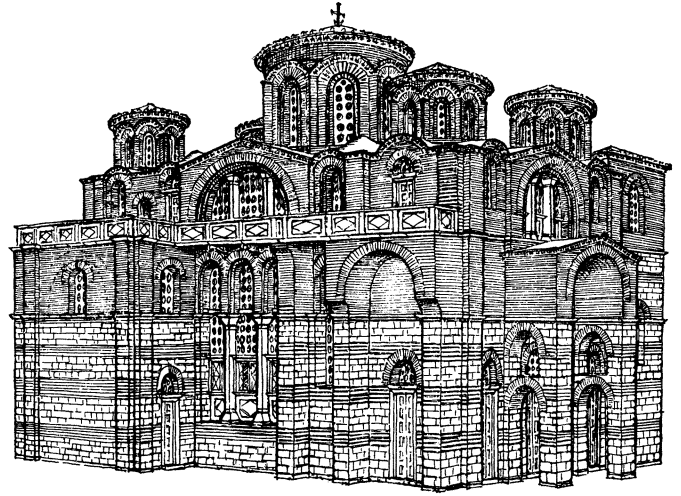


Fig. 28. Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips. Perspective reconstruction; from northwest (Megaw; courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington, D.C.).

gence of new church plans would have, by necessity, resulted in a new, experimental juxtaposition of elements within the same general planning framework.

Beyond these general conclusions, this analysis of subsidiary chapels in Middle Byzantine has demonstrated the following: 1. subsidiary chapels occur with relative frequency, 2. the chapels display a variety of plans, 3. churches to which the chapels relate differ widely in type, 4. subsidiary chapels usually occur in symmetrically disposed pairs, 5. in terms of planning, the chapels are carefully integrated into larger schemes involving the principal church with all of its subsidiary spaces, and 6. through individual architectural characteristics of their own, chapels affect the architectural makeup of the principal church, often substantially. The role of subsidiary chapels in the development of Middle Byzantine church architecture is major. Combined with the proliferation of a few new church types, and the perpetuation of some old basic ones the architecture of subsidiary chapels was to a great degree responsible for the wide variety of architectural solutions produced during the Middle Byzantine period.

57. As for example, their effect on the increased verticality of the interior space. This problem has been dealt with in relationship to the Panagia tōn Chalkeōn in Thessaloniki; see fn. 47.

58. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 533, for the definition of the type; pp. 299ff., for the discussion of the development of the “cross-domed church.”